



"A Philosophy of Democracy under God": Jackson CD, Henry Luce and the Pro Deo movement (1941-1964)

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ARTICLE

Développé in Europe before World War II by Catholic personalities and the United States during the war, movement Pro Deo ("For God") received the American side the support of Henry Luce, the influential head of *Time -Life, Inc.*, and CD Jackson, Luce's correspondent for this issue to the Europeans, including when he was appointed as Eisenhower's advisor for the Cold War, and Luce's US ambassador's wife in Rome. At the intersection of intelligence circles, cultural diplomacy, media and foreign policy, the Pro Deo movement is in line with the anti-communist initiatives supported by the US administration in Europe. Through Henry Luce and CD Jackson, the analysis of American support for Pro Deo allows us to examine the religious element that shapes the worldview of a certain American elite, the role of religion in the Cold War and on religious networks as a tool of influence reinforcing the foreign policy of the United States.

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HENRY LUCE, JACKSON CD AND THE PRO DEO MOVEMENT IN THE ANTI-TOTALITARIAN COMMITMENT

The course of the Belgian Dominican father Félix Morlion makes it easy to understand the interest of Luce and Jackson. Founded in 1932, in Brussels, its first "Pro Deo Information and Publication Center" (CIP) creates a movement against totalitarian ideologies in Western Europe through Catholic-led public opinion campaigns. After the German invasion, Morlion, sought by the Gestapo, recreates the Pro Deo International Center in Lisbon in 1940, then in New York in 1941, around an American *Catholic International Press* (CIP) which provides a press service, a bi-monthly newsletter and courses on the principles of democracy ^[1].

Father Morlion, in addition, is linked to the head of the *Office of Strategic Services* (OSS), William Donovan: it is he who evacuates from Lisbon to New York, finances during the war and helps him regain Rome in 1944 (Brown 683-684). Morlion himself recalls his "psychological warfare activities in the United States in 1941-1944 with other antitotalitarian leaders" ^[2] And its network of correspondents - IPC centers are created in Ottawa, Mexico City, Montevideo and San Juan (Puerto Rico) to compensate for the destruction of European IPCs by the Nazis - is clearly an important source of information for Americans. Upon the liberation of Rome, he founded in November 1944, at the request of Pope Pius XII, a training structure called *School of Mass Communication Media*, core of the anticommunist democratic coordination instrument centered in Rome that the pope then envisions. Devoted to the fight against communist influence in Italy, she trained for several years executives who in turn instructed the actors of "civic committees" created by Luigi Gedda, president of the Italian Catholic Action, and who, with the support of the US government's discrete but abundant financial fundamentals play a crucial role in the electoral victory of Christian Democracy in 1948. ^[3]. In a classic way, Morlion goes from a global antitotalitarian struggle to a specifically anti-communist action.

But there is more original than just anti ally of circumstance. Pro Deo is linked to the "Catholic Action" movement launched in the 1920s and 30s by Pope Pius XI to restore the influence of the Church on society, and which is particularly successful in Belgium and the Netherlands, former Spanish possessions where the campaigns of the Counter-Reformation and the influence of the *Congregatio of Propaganda Fide* had been exercised very rigorously. In counterpoint to Catholic Action, Morlion strives to reconcile modern techniques of communication and evangelical message, convinced that the Christian reconquest of the masses can succeed only by developing an adapted propaganda, based on the cinema, the press and the radio. Commentator in a big Catholic newspaper, *De Standaard*, he created in 1931 the Documentation Cinématographique de la Presse (DOCIP), which became an international center in 1933 and plays an important role in the Catholic Action of the cinema. He also participated in the development of a Catholic Press Center in 1934, which became international in 1939 and attracted the wrath of

Goebbels. His experience, summed up in 1944 in *The Apostolate of Public Opinion* (Morlion), is an excellent reflection on the techniques of propaganda and organization that he considers indispensable to the Church.

This could not be indifferent to the media and influence men Henry Luce and CD Jackson. The first, a mass media genius user, has been at the head of a press empire since the end of the 1930s, the *Time Life Group, Inc.*, whose two flagships are *Time* and *Life.*, have revolutionized journalism. Presbyterian, son of a missionary living in China who conveys an ideal image of the American model, he sees journalism as a mission and has a clear and ambitious vision of the role that his country must play on the international stage. He exposes it in 1941 in his famous essay calling on Americans to assume their responsibilities and shape "the American century" (Luce). He does not hesitate to use his magazines to support the Republican party and spread his vision of the world, sometimes in the tone of a sermon: the United States must commit to save Europe, ensure a dominant position in international relations to spread their model and vigorously fight communism around the world (Baughman, Herzstein). In 1949, *Time* celebrates the virtues of Gedda's civic committees and salutes in Morlion "one of the tireless [anticommunist] debaters" [4].

For his part, CD Jackson emerged from the 1940s as a fascinating personality, at the crossroads of the world of media, intelligence and politics. A close associate of Luce since 1931, Vice President of *Time, Inc.*, Jackson is an apostle of psychological warfare, which he successfully practiced during the war with General Eisenhower, as deputy director of the Psychological Warfare Section of Allied troops, first in North Africa in 1943, then in London in 1944-45. He made close contact with OSS and Allen Dulles on this occasion. After the war, he passed, without discontinuity in his eyes, the development of the international edition of *Time* and *Life* and the editorial direction of *Fortune* in support, then in the presidency in 1951 of the *National Committee for a Free Europe* (NCFE), a private group supported by the CIA which organizes active propaganda towards Central and Eastern Europe and whose best-known element is *Radio Free Europe* (RFE). Expert in writing and media, appreciated by Eisenhower, for whom he writes speeches, he becomes special assistant to the president for international affairs in 1953-1954, thus finding a privileged place to propose his sometimes daring ideas mixing propaganda cultural diplomacy and psychological action (Brands 117-137, Cook).

All three were active in the early forties in the wake of the organizations supporting the aid to Europe and European anti-Nazi - Luce, in the *Century Group*, Jackson, the *Council for Democracy* and Morlion in its CIP, which then draws big names among American interventionists. In addition, during his exile in the United States, Morlion discovers, according to his expression, "America in its essence", based on a civic religion that [5] allows democracy and faith to reinforce each other [5]. This "conversion" of Morlion -

] "American Stake ...", an appendix to a letter from Morlion to Segal, 3 ...that Luce does not fail to stage a few years later in *Time* ^[6] - now makes him celebrate in all his writings the philosophy of the American founding fathers, which he sees as the key to his efforts to reconcile democratic offensive, renewal of Christianity and regeneration of European civilization, thanks to a return to the sources passing through the America ^[7]. He defends the originality and superiority of the American model, the heart of the vision of Jackson and Luce.

SPREAD THE AMERICAN CREDO : LUCE, JACKSON AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL STUDIES PRO DEO

After the war, the father Morlion reorients his movement in the Americanized. The New York CIP, while retaining its initials, is renamed the *American Council for the International Promotion of Democracy Under God*, and must be the pillar of action taken by the movement in Europe from 1944. Morlion also abandons a European terminology ("action for God") for another, typically American (action for "democracy under the gaze of God"). Morlion opposes the democratic model of the French Revolution, strongly anticlerical, to the American democratic model, judged superior because it is part of a reference to God and respects religious freedoms. He also sees the crucible of an identity devoid of tension; according to him, "a continental and indivisible union of men of different peoples, classes, creeds, has been born of a great civic and religious idea" ^[8].

order to disseminate this model in Europe, Morlion, strongly encouraged in Italy by the Vatican and non-communist political leaders, created in 1948 the private Pro Deo Social Studies University, explicitly organized in the image of American universities and intended to "Instilling this definition of America in the minds of hundreds of young men and women" ^[9]. In addition to ethics, economics, politics and social sciences are taught on the model of American universities because they provide a tool for analyzing and resolving contemporary social problems in a practical way, avoiding the diffusion of revolutionary theses. By capillarity, these conceptions would then spread to the wider circle of administrative and economic worlds, and would make it possible to adapt European countries to the functioning of a modern industrial democracy. This conception is then largely developed by certain heads of the great American foundations, who also finance teachers and institutes of political and social sciences with the aim of reforming and modernizing Western European university structures, *New Deal* (Carew).

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In the early 1950s, Pro Deo University, embroiled in its original anti-communist activism, seems to have difficulty meeting the ambitious desire of its founder. In 1952, Morlion asked for CD Jackson's support by presenting him with a complex organization into three faculties, three graduate schools, and four research institutes, some of which seem to have the aim of legitimizing the anti-communist methods of the "civic committees" of the post-colonial period. war. These institutions were obviously hastily grafted onto the first courses of 1944-1948 devoted to management, the media (journalism, radio, cinema), public relations and the "philosophy of democracy." Confused and steeped in Cold War rhetoric,^[10].

Another objective underlying Morlion is to give credibility to his university. Mostly funded by "private" donations for anti-communist actions, it is linked to the *National Committee for a Free Europe* through Frederic Dolbear and Gregory Thomas, two members of the NCFE Board, and Mrs. Frank Brady, president of the New York CIP since 1941 and NCFE consultant - whom CD Jackson chaired in 1951-52. These indirect but clear relationships with the CIA, and other private or public sponsors^[11] in the early 1950s prevented it from developing into a normal academic organization capable of seriously deepening the concept of democracy and effectively importing the American model. They also limit Morlion's ambition to create advanced sectors (*Post-Graduate Schools*) to attract an audience of future diplomats, officials and managers, and to obtain official recognition of diplomas by the Italian State^[12]. He therefore uses, in a contradictory way, the arguments expected by the activists of the psychological warfare of the years 1945-1950, while seeking stable and consistent funding precisely to free his university from anti-communist agitation.

Interested, CD Jackson and Henry Luce meet Morlion, and the second pays him \$ 30,000 between 1953 and 1955. But Jackson and Luce do not really get involved until the Vatican gives up his reluctance to university in early 1955 , demanding a financial guarantee that Pro Deo is not dependent on him and obtain a status of free establishment, religiously guided but academically independent^[13]. Immediately, the most eminent Italian industrial and financial circles organize themselves, under the impetus of the very influential Fiat president, Vittorio Valletta, and that of the Credit Institute of the Italian Savings Bank (ICCR), Paolo Ricaldone. They appeal to the Americans, and in June 1955 they create an Association of Friends of Pro Deo University (later a foundation), capable of receiving donations from both sides of the Atlantic and guaranteeing a regular annual income for the future. 'university.

Luce and Jackson then act as key intermediaries in American political and economic circles, as reflected in the inflation of records from that date in CD Jackson's archives. The latter evokes Pro Deo with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, while ensuring that he receives a favorable report from the Embassy of Rome, then under the responsibility of Henry Luce's wife, Clare Boothe Luce - converted to Catholicism in 1946

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and closely following the Pro Deo file ^[14]. He also gets the green light from his friend Allen Dulles at the CIA, who makes a contribution of \$ 25,000 at the end of 1955 and channels other payments via Frederic Dolbeare (\$ 25,000 in 1955 and probably other in 1956) ^[15]. Finally, Jackson entrusted the secretariat and part of the IPC's activities to Ethel Schroeder, vice-president of the *International Advisory Council*, a CIA umbrella organization, and, from 1956, to *Free Europe Press*, a branch of RFE. (Matthews 423) For its part, Luce an agreement with Valletta to collect 320 000 dollars (200 million lire) complement required, building on the network of *Time, Inc.* ^[16]

Both men also help define the project's content. The American CIP, a small group led since the war by Catholic journalist Anna M. Brady, vice-president and treasurer of Pro Deo University between 1952 and 1956, expanded in 1955-1956 into an "American Council of the Pro Deo University" which names eight members in the Foundation of the same name, responsible for distributing and verifying the use of funds and voting on the general policy of the university. Luce (vice-president of the Foundation), George Shuster, renowned Catholic intellectual and president of Hunter College, CUNY, Thomas Bata, a great Czech industrialist in Canada, Maurice Neufeld, former trade unionist and professor at the *School of Industrial and Labor Relations* of Cornell University and Frederic Dolbeare - the latter, former OSS diplomat and NCFE president, is the link with the intelligence community. ^[17]. The Americans are personally involved in the university: Neufeld directs Pro Deo's *Industrial Relations Schools* in Rome, Milan and Turin, Luce and Bata lecture at the university, and Dolbeare is commissioned in 1955-57 course on American foreign policy ^[18].

In addition, Luce and Jackson catalyze support the United States of varied personalities. The American Council, chaired by George Shuster, then Harry Carman, who runs *Columbia College* at Columbia University, now has a larger steering committee, which includes, except, of course, Jackson and Luce, former diplomats linked Italy (Ellsworth Bunker, president of the American Red Cross and former ambassador to Italy); personalities associated with Italian-American circles (George de Luca, governor of New York State, Fortune Pope, president of the newspaper *Il Progresso Italo-American*o, widely read by the Italian-American community); educators and university administrators (Edward J. Motorla, who leads the development of *Pace University* of New York in the years 1950-1960); management specialists, businessmen (Harold Schmiddy, vice-president of *General Electric*) or members of major think-tanks (Frank Altschul, vice-president and secretary of the *Council on Foreign Relations*). They are also particularly attentive to their links with the various religious groups in the United States, the difficulty being, says CD Jackson, that the "unconventional" character of Pro Deo rebuffed American Catholics, giving priority in some respects to a more liberal vision. and ecumenical as they would like, while a strict Catholic position would distance Protestants and Jews ^[19]. At the same time, the struggle against Communism facilitates

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the integration of Catholics into American society, and Catholic Americans do not necessarily associate themselves with all the positions of the Vatican (Allitt). By dint of explanation, the American Council succeeds in obtaining the support of the most influential of the Catholics, Cardinal Spellmann, reluctant at the beginning, and of Jewish personalities, in particular Louis Rabinowitz, philanthropist very active, David Danzig, one of the persons in charge of the *American Jewish Committee* (AJC), the banker and philanthropist Paul Felix Warburg and Alan M. Stroock, president of the highly respected *Jewish Theological Seminary of America* and vice president of the AJC, the latter two being able to "explain Pro Deo to the most important parts of the American Jewish community" ^[20].

The reasons for American support are multiple. First, the progress of the university is real: in 1956, it has a charter and capped by a supervisory committee dependent on the Dominican Order, and includes serious university training. It gained important recognition by creating, with the strong encouragement of the NCFE, an Institute of European Studies, inaugurated before the photographers in 1953, chaired by De Gasperi, recognized by decree by the Italian government, and including Adenauer, Schuman and Spaak accepted the honorary presidency in 1956. It also spread to Italy, Turin and Milan, as a result of the strong support it receives from industrialists in Northern Italy, anxious to combat communism among their workers and to import the organizational efficiency of American enterprises; Fiat is the most characteristic example. Finally, the Italian Government implicitly recognizes this by passing an agreement with it in 1955 to train some of its local officials in a new School of Public Administration. It has established itself as a place of original formation, even if it still provokes controversy because of its ideological commitment at the beginning of the cold war ^[21].

Moreover, Jackson sees Pro Deo possible source of information on the reflection of the Vatican, which could be used at the State Department - and indeed Morlion sent several reports on the subject and records show that discrete funding for "special projects" are organized, with funds from the CIA ^[22]. But it is a secondary dimension in relation to the religious and political impact of the university, which is essential for Luce:

Thus the Catholic Church, dedicated to the world of struggle against Communism, could participate in the education of others, and to identify with the world in a spirit of Christianity ^[23].

Luce believes that in Europe, contrary to what happened in the United States, "the struggle for freedom has too often been anti-religious and religion has too often been opposed to freedom" ^[24]. Pro Deo is therefore an unexpected opportunity to help Europe overcome its historical mistakes. The religious motive also dominates for the

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Jewish support of the American committee, who see the value of having specific studies done by a university backed by the Vatican, for example on "the interest of communists in racial and religious conflicts" [25].

Added to this is the interest in making European economic circles more sensitive to the improvement of the working-class condition, the only way to prevent the rise of communism, by introducing "an American perspective on the business world" [26].¹ So they solicit donors by setting the Pro Deo University as "a pragmatic institution, making a concrete anti-work - sell ideas and American ideals industrial leaders of the future" [27]. For this, we must act on the training of the elite, which specifically offers Pro Deo University. Returning in 1960 on the reasons for his support, Jackson said that in his eyes, in Europe,

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An important ingredient was missing, namely, the study of social sciences 'in America', which [Morlion] considered the important educational contribution of America [28].

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That's the diagnosis Morlion the necessary dissemination of the American model and the reform of European social structures that seduces. Pro Deo University "should not only show a spiritual and philosophical affinity with American ideas and ideals, but ... there should also be a very close educational and pedagogical relationship between Pro Deo and America. In other words, it's about training European students in the American way. He finally adds:

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In the heart of the Eternal City, under the benevolent eye of the Vatican, under the direct supervision of the Dominican Order, with a multi-faith and multi-racial student body, with a multi-faith faculty, with a direct and continuing relationship to American ideas, texts, and instructional techniques relating to those elements of American higher education which for a [29] number of historical reasons, Europe seemed reluctant to furnish [29].¹

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] Jackson Ferrero, November 18, 1960.

If Luce and Jackson Pro Deo support the movement, it is above all due to the creation of the University of Social Studies in Rome in her renovated version of the mid-1950s, which makes possible a long-term American influence .

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PRO DEO UNIVERSITY IN THE EARLY 1960S: A PRIVATELY OWNED ITALIAN-AMERICAN PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP

After a certain hesitation in 1960, due to Morlion's temporary difficulties with the Vatican, [30] the Italian-American partnership of Pro Deo is strengthening, this time around Latin America, with which Father Morlion had contacts since the 1930s. After the war, the university opens centers in Lima (1952), Rio de Janeiro (1953), Bogotá (1953)

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and the Dominican Republic (1956), mainly with funds from local employers' organizations, and then agreements with governments. It is strongly supported by public and private donations from Brazil, Colombia, Peru and the Dominican Republic and Latin American Institute opened in Rome in 1957 with a donation of 635,000 dollars from the Brazilian government [31].

The ambition to develop a modern democratic vision, encouraging social reforms to strengthen resistance to communism, with the support of the Catholic Church, is clearly in line with the goals of the Kennedy administration and its Alliance for Progress in America. Moreover, this period also corresponds to the action of the new Pope John XXIII, anxious for ecumenical dialogue and adaptation of the Church to the modern world, which convenes the Second Vatican Council in 1962. It also encourages the action of the Catholics for social progress and against "false ideologies", taking up in May 1961 in *Mater and Magistra* the message of the famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and extending it to the problem of underdevelopment in the world. The concerns of Washington and the Vatican converge in 1961-62.

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They also permeate the project Morlion. Pro Deo must now be a "private Atlantic pact for democracy under God" based on a new alliance between "the world's largest moral community centered in Rome" and "the world's largest democratic nation, the United States" [32], and materialized by a much larger American contribution. The Pro Deo movement is also developing anti-communist action in Latin America. Father Morlion finds here the accents of the Italian campaign of 1944-48 to lead "the great battle for democracy". It begins with a pilot project on Venezuela, "a bridgehead against Castro infiltration", whose 80 best students were trained in Rome. A committee is also set up in Venezuela to channel the contributions of private companies, with a target of at least \$ 6 million end-1961 to "help the new Latin American managerial class to strengthen democracy in the face of communism". This action is warmly welcomed by *Standard Oil* for example, very involved in the region, but also in broader economic circles [33]. Pro Deo University in Rome is also attracting third-world students, and is expanding its mission to train executives for newly independent countries by offering them shorter, less expensive courses tailored to their needs. Pro Deo's speech is thus tinged with "Rostovian" nuances (Rostow) to offer a political vision "through which the emerging countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can achieve economic growth and political stability as preconditions of freedom" [34]. Finally, Morlion uses Pro Deo to support the pope's openness policy. With the support of Cardinal Augustin Bea, President of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, one of the preparatory bodies of the Second Vatican Council, he organized *inter-Christian* and then ecumenical meetings in 1962, the *Agapê* meetings, which worth the congratulations of the Pope's relatives, make visible his movement and attract donations.

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Luce and Jackson judge the evolution as very interesting for US external priorities.

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Assured of the state of mind of the Vatican in June 1961, and after consultation with the State Department, the leaders of the American CIP set up a branch in Rome, with legal personality, officially registered in Italy in November 1961^[35]. Simultaneously, Jackson takes the presidency of the council of the American CIP, which has three vice-presidents, a Protestant (Luce), a Catholic (Gerald L. Carroll, of *Michael P. Grace II Trust*, small Catholic foundation, also president of the Steering Committee of the *Catholic Interracial Council of New York*) and a Jew (Alan M. Stroock)^[36]. In November 1962, to relieve Jackson, overwhelmed, a reshuffle door Luce to the presidency of the council, the effective presidency returning to Peter Grace and the vice-presidencies to Paul Felix Warburg and Albrecht M. Lederer, consultant and president of the International Committee of the scientific organization. Prestigious business executives join the IPC's Board of Directors, demonstrating its strengths: Marcel Rand, *Remington-Rand*, J. Bolton, *Standard Oil*, James Farley, *Coca-Cola International Corp.*, John Bugas, vice president of *Ford Motor Co.*, Arthur Watson, president of *IBM World Trade Corp.*, David Rockefeller, and Eric Johnston, president of *Motion Picture Association of America*.

C.D. Jackson secures the support of the Kennedy administration at a meeting with Sargent Shriver, director of the *Peace Corps*, in February 1962. He is also received by the Pope during a trip to Rome during and meeting with Vatican officials and industrialists, including Count Carlo Faina, CEO of Montecatini and active support of Pro Deo. He emerges convinced that the CIP should now engage sustainably by buying the buildings of the university. This is also the opinion of the consultant A. Lederer, Vice-President of the CIP at the end of 1962, for whom massive support for Pro Deo University would help to anchor American influence in the European Community:

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The increasing Europanization of the European Community may crowd out any American 'liberating' influence has existed in Europe up to this time, [and] a cleavage in concept as to the nature and purpose of society may appear between Europe and the Americas Which would make it increasingly difficult for American business to do business in or with the European Community in the years to come^[37].

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He is ready, as a first step, to engage the CIP in a fundraising of \$ 3 million. In a similar vein, the IPC creates a study committee to participate in the supervision of the content of the courses and the choice of visiting professors.^[38].

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American support then peaked. In April, CD Jackson pays tribute to Pro Deo's "Freedom School"^[39]. But in late 1963, he and Luce began to move away from the plans of the tireless father Morlion. On the one hand, they feel that his action goes beyond the strict confines of the university, the central aspect in their eyes. They do not intend to make IPC an actor of dialogue between religions. Or Morlion organizes a "agape" very media and ecumenical 1st April 1963 in New York, successful event but raises questions for

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some American Catholics^[40]. Above all, Morlion is getting closer to Vatican diplomacy in the early 1960s, accompanying the genesis of Vatican II in his university. In 1962, he was involved in a discreet diplomatic attempt to open up to the Soviets, transformed after the Cuban crisis into indirect talks between Pope Kennedy and Khrushchev, through the American journalist Norman Cousins (Cousins). Morlion is also very close to Cardinal Montini, Secretary of State during the installation of Pro Deo in Rome in 1944, which became Pope Paul VI in June 1963. Luce and Jackson are afraid to be dragged into the meanders of the Vatican diplomacy - or even worse, that of Father Morlion alone.

Finally, despite the talk about the international nature of the university, CIP dreads to see the original project away in favor of a university Italianisation, if it receives its accreditation, or at least, to see its influence diminish in the new complex legal structure developed by Pro Deo - an Italian-American corporation controlling the university, and a company, Pro Deo Union, owning the premises - where the number of votes it has seems insufficient. Thus, the *raison d'être* of the CIP would disappear, since the Americans are attached above all to "a truly international entity", in the form of an "inter-confessional tool for the dissemination of the principles of American economics and management"^{[41].1.}

In addition, the grand university's expansion plans are very expensive and Morlion harasses his American colleagues for money. He snatches them a pledge of \$ 100,000 in March 1963, which the CIP has a hard time getting together, supposedly followed by \$ 5 million or \$ 6 million in capital, earning \$ 250,000 a year. Many accounting documents are not declassified, it is difficult to know the details of US payments, but it is certain that they never reach the expectations of the CIP, *a fortiori* of Morlion, who conceives some bitterness. The year 1963 is dominated by confused discussions about the ability to hire a professional to raise several million dollars, against a background of a tax reform project that threatens to call into question the deductibility of donations to associations that send their revenue abroad - a crucial aspect for the CIP. But this financial question is indicative of the political difficulty of finding active support in the United States.

Anxious to remain faithful both to their American identity and to the pope's positions, American Catholics have difficulty in locating Pro Deo and the CIP. In September 1963, Thurston Davis, the editor-in-chief of a leading Catholic weekly, *America*, wondered in an editorial that Pro Deo was a university or "some sort of international Judo-Christo-Buddhist moral rearmament program."^[42] As Jackson observes, Catholic charitable causes abound, "so much easier to understand and so much more 'orthodox' that we continue to come to nothing with them." Only the *American Jewish Committee* is really involved, interested in the Vatican's willingness to correct the most questionable aspects of old Catholic anti-Judaism. In 1962, he paid \$ 30,000 to create a chair of study of inter-racial and inter-religious relations^[43] and Jackson suspects the AJC of

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"maneuvering for near complete control" of the CIP to fund some university projects, "in return for an occasional rewrite of history by the Curia".^[44] Jackson and Luce have neither the time to take over an ineffective steering committee, led by a Peter Grace who is figuring. The failure is above all that of the American committee of Pro Deo. In February 1964, the IPC closed its New York office; in April, CD Jackson resigns and suggests to Luce to do the same - not without regret: both still consider that the idea is "splendid"^[45]. The death of Jackson on September 18 marks the end of the collaboration between Pro De, Luce and *Time, Inc.*

The religious factor, largely neglected in the study of the Cold War, has recently been the subject of a new interest, as evidenced by the record of the distinguished journal *Diplomatic History* published in autumn 2000 (Rotter, Buzzanco, Hill) and, the same year, the conference organized by the British historian Dianne Kirby (Kirby). Religion appears as a delicate but useful category of analysis, involving ideological and institutional elements and juxtaposing an international dimension and an identity aspect specific to each society. Pro Deo University has the advantage of condensing all these issues. Jackson and Luce support it because it goes in the direction of Washington's foreign policy - Atlantic solidarity, European unity, modernization of Europe, dissemination of the American economic and social model, mutual defense against communism. But it is her religious specificity that distinguishes her in their eyes: Pro Deo is for them a mirror that reflects and multiplies an ideal image of America, religious but multi-religious, tolerant and consensual industrial democracy, in the shadow of a Vatican that confers a spiritual depth to the struggle against communism and a philosophical justification for the export of the American democratic model. Undoubtedly Pro Deo is above all for CD Jackson, Presbyterian very discreet about his religious opinions, a convenient tool to add a Catholic initiative, sanctioned by the Vatican, to the wide range of anti-communist devices he handles. But for Luce, support for Pro Deo is a matter of deep conviction. Like many Protestant missionary sons who populated the State Department after World War II, he sees international relations through the prism of moral values: the American model is superior to atheistic and materialistic communism because it is based on freedom and democracy, themselves based on a spiritual dimension that is expressed in multiple religious traditions. Both are attached to the religious aspect of the project: it is Pro Deo and Morlion that they support, and not the rival and anticlerical group of Italian liberal intellectuals around the magazine *He Mulino*, who also plans to disseminate the American social sciences in Italy (Attal). And in many ways, Rome's Pro Deo University, which trains 2,000 to 3,000 students a year in the 1950s and 1960s, is a success story that satisfies Luce and Jackson.

However, the difficulty of building an American branch of Pro Deo highlights the gap between the ideal image of America that one wants to project and the reality of religious identity in the United States. Anticommunism certainly has a unifying effect that benefits American Catholics, who finally reconcile their faith and their patriotism in the Cold War. But there are several Catholic anticommunisms in the United States during this period, some of which are less favorable to ecumenism (McNamara, Carey 99-101). The strong post-war Catholic expansion is also accompanied by a resurgence of tensions between Catholics and Protestants, which complicates the cooperation sought by Luce, Jackson and Father Morlion. The latter passes himself from an anti-communism without nuance in 1947-1949 to a more subtle liberal anticommunism ten years later and knows periods of tensions with the Vatican, which is traversed after the war of various currents of which all are not necessarily favorable to democracy (Kent & Pollard). As for the *American Jewish Committee*, it seems to engage primarily in the Pro Deo University to get the Vatican concrete progress in its policy towards Jews. Pro Deo's anticommunism is unifying in the United States for only a short decade. After the mid-sixties, the death of its American promoters, the departure of Morlion, the evolution of the Vatican, Italian political life and the international context gradually changed the nature of Pro Deo University. In 1977, she became *Libera Università degli Studi Sociali* (LUISS) under the direction of Guido Carli, president of the Italian employers' confederation. By changing its identity, it retains the same industrial and financial support in Italy and the same orientation in economic and social sciences, but loses both its religious dimension and its original American support. Pro Deo was therefore the product of a specific historical configuration that relied on networks of resistance and intelligence, cold-war rhetoric infused with religious references, Vatican anticommunism, and American elites of their own values to prevent Communist contagion among their allies - all of which fade after the mid-sixties.

NOTES

- [1] Morlion, "The International Alliance for Democracy Under God," [1962], 4-6, Jackson Papers CD, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS (below CDJP) Box 84 Pro Deo-1962 (2).
- [2] "International University of Social Studies Pro Deo", Rome, Italy, annex to a letter from Morlion to S. Segal, April 3, 1957, CDJP Box B6 Pro Deo-1957 (5).
- [3] "Short History of the International University of Social Studies" Pro Deo "" [written by Morlion], appendix to a letter from Morlion to H. Schmiddy, Oct. 31, 1960, CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1960 (1).
- [4] "How to Fight Communists", *Time*, March 28, 1949.
- [5] "American Stake ...", an appendix to a letter from Morlion to Segal, Apr. 3, 1957, CDJP Box 86, Pro Deo 1957 (5).

- [6] "For Managers and Molders", *Time*, Dec. 18 1953.
- [7] See the CIP-New York brochure, "Ten Fundamentals of the American Tradition," 1943, in the CIP Forum series.
- [8] "American Stake ...", Appendix to a letter from Morlion to Segal.
- [9] Morlion, "Biography of Father Felix Morlion", CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1960 (1).
- [10] Morlion, "American Democracy and the Anti-Cominform Organization", sent to CD Jackson on June 4, 1952, CDJP Box 86 Pro Deo 1952.
- [11] Pro Deo is engaged in "Infiltration training of Communist circles" in Italy, France, Germany, and sends specialists to South America. Morlion, "American Democracy and the Anti-Cominform Organization" 17.
- [12] In 1953-54 the *Post-Graduate Institute of Industrial Relations* and the *Post-Graduate Institute of the Industrial Techniques Organization* were created .
- [13] Morlion, "Memorandum on the Pro Deo Movement", [1955], Box 87 Pro Deo 1955 (1) and "Note on the Sponsors ...", Sept. 11, 1956, Pro Deo Int. Univ. Soc. St-Morlion, CDJP.
- [14] Morlion at Clare Boothe Luce, Nov. 24, 1956, Box 87, Pro Deo Int. Univ. Soc. St-Morlion, CDJP.
- [15] Handwritten note by CD Jackson, nd, [summer 1955]; correspondence with AW Dulles and Guzzardi, *passim*, JPEC Box Pro Deo 87, 1955 (3). Morlion to CD Jackson, Oct. 8, 1956, CDJP Box 86 Pro Deo 1956 (2); Jackson's confidential memo at Luce, Nov. 14, 1955, CDJP Box 87 1955 (2). JF Dulles writes a letter of support to Morlion on Nov. 29, 1955, quoted in Morlion, "The Interest of the Holy See for American Pluralistic Leadership in Pro Deo," 1, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1963 (4).
- [16] Morlion, Note, Sept. 11, 1956.
- [17] "Constitution and By-Laws of the American Council of the International University of Social Studies" Pro Deo "" (CIP), nd, CDJP Box 87 Pro Deo 1955 (2).
- [18] "Aims and methods of the race to be given by Dr. Frederic Dolbeare [...]", CDJP Box 87 Pro Deo 1955 (2).
- [19] CD Jackson to Don Carlo Ferrero, Nov. 18, 1960, CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1960 (1).
- [20] D. Danzig at Morlion, Jan. 28, 1958, CDJP Box 86 1958 (3).
- [21] "Short History ...", appendix to a letter from Morlion to H. Schmiddy, Oct. 31, 2. For Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, prefect of the Congregation for seminaries and universities of the Vatican, explains Guzzardi to CD Jackson, Pro Deo is " an elementary school and not a university ", or" an anticommunist movement to spread basic knowledge among the workers ". Guzzardi at CDJ, Feb. 21 1957, CDJP Box 86 Pro Deo 1957 (5).
- [22] For example, "The New Orientation of Vatican International Policies," Oct. 6, 1955, CDJP Box 86 Pro Deo 1955 (1) and "International Relations Studies 1," sent Dec. 15, 1955. 1957 by Morlion in Jackson, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1958 (3).

- [23] H. Luce to H. Ford, Nov. 19, 1955, CDJP Box 87 Pro Deo 1955 (1).
- [24] Luce, "The Great Liberal Tradition," June 18, 1953 (Jessup 126).
- [25] Danzig to Jackson, Jan. 6, 1958, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1958 (3).
- [26] Meeting of Group to Discuss International University for Social Studies, 2 Dec. 1955, CDJP Box 87 Pro Deo 1955 (1).
- [27] Memo, J. Brown to R. Bourne, Oct. 31, 1956, accepted without reservation by CD Jackson, CDJP Box 86 Pro Deo 1956 (2).
- [28] CD Jackson to Don Carlo Ferrero, Nov. 18, 1960, CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1960 (1).
- [29] Jackson in Ferrero, Nov. 18, 1960.
- [30] See the testimony of the academic Alfred de Grazia, briefly associated with Pro Deo in 1960-61, May 15, 1960, autobiographical journal [accessed Sept. 20, 2005], <http://www.Grazian-archive.com/autobiography/journals/60-05-AL.htm>.
- [31] Annex to a letter from Morlion to S. Segal, April 3, 1957, CDJP box 86 Pro Deo 1957 (1); "Vatican is Active in Latin America. Rome To Set Up New Institute To Provide New Leaders for Wider Democracy", *New York Times*, Sept. 15, 1957.
- [32] Morlion, "The International Alliance for Democracy Under God", CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1962 (2), 2, and its original, less sober version, dictated by Morlion, CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1962 (9), 2-3, 6.
- [33] The *Standard Oil* paid 61,000 dollars to Pro Deo in 1962 for the Venezuelan projects. Ferrero to Schroeder, June 25, 1962, CDJP Box 85 1962 (4). Moreover, Lederer, of the International Committee of Scientific Organization, praises Luce the merits of development and managerial modernization to stabilize the region. Lederer at Luce, Oct. 17, 1962, CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1962 (5).
- [34] "A University of Freedom," Feb. 1963, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1963 (6), 3.
- [35] Letter from the Secretary of State of the Vatican to CD Jackson, March 7, 1961, quoted in Morlion, "The Interest of the Holy See for American Pluralistic Leadership in" Pro Deo "", 2, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1963 (4); "The Interest of the Holy See ..." 3.
- [36] Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of CIP, August 10, 1961, CDJP Box 85 1962 (9).
- [37] Lederer to Jackson, August 16, 1962, CDJP Box 85 Pro Deo 1962 (4).
- [38] Speech by J. Peter Grace, CIP annual meeting, 27 Nov. 1962, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1963 (5).
- [39] CD Jackson, remarks dinner given in honor of Cardinal Bea, 1st April 1963 JPEC Box Pro Deo 84, 1963 (6).
- [40] Morlion, "The Unity of Christians and the Unity of Mankind", CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1963 (2).

- [41] CIP Executive Committee Meeting, 16 March 1964, with supporting diagrams, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1964 (1)
- [42] *America*, September 28, 1963, 109 (13) and letter from Jane Hoey CD Jackson, 1st October 1963, JPEC Box 84 Pro Deo 1963 (3).
- [43] Race Group Study Endowed by AJC. Chair is Established at Pro Deo University in Rome ", *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1962.
- [44] Memo from Jackson to Luce, Apr. 22, 1964, CDJP Box 84 Pro Deo 1964 (1).
- [45] Jackson to Luce, letter, Apr. 22, 1964; Luce in Jackson, Apr 27, 1964.

SUMMARY

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Henry Luce, C.D. Jackson et le mouvement Pro Deo dans l'engagement anti-totalitaire

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L'université Pro Deo au début des années 1960 : un partenariat privé italien-américain à vocation mondiale

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